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527 In some families the girls were not allowed to use needle and thread during the first month.

On the second day of the second month the great dragon, ruler of the insects, lifted up his head after his winter sleep. Before sunrise the village people usually sat on their beds with pillows on their heads and said three times:

> "On the second day of the second moon
> The dragon lifts up his head.
> I lift up mine first so
> No scorpion or earthworm will dare to crawl on my body."

If they did not put the pillows on their heads they would put something under or in their pillows to scare the dragon; red sulphur, cinnabar, green pepper. During the day new ashes were spread around the wells, as they were thought to be the home of the dragon, a water animal. Ashes from the wells were taken back to the family home and there spread around the walls and rooms to "guide the dragon".

Small chickens made from wheat straw were stuck into the outside walls of the houses so that the "chickens" could eat any scorpions coming into the house. The walls and rooms of the house were cleaned to keep away poisonous insects. Kaoliang seeds were planted so they would be free from disease at harvest time.

527 Ch'ing Ming, the spring festival, came on the third day of the third month. Originally it was the day when families went to the graves of their ancestors, repaired the graves, offered a feast to the spirits of the departed, and held a memorial service. More recently it had become also an Arbor Day. Many of the students in the villages went out into the country for a picnic or a walk in the fields as most of the flowers and trees were in bloom. Gourds were usually planted on this day as it was believed that it would protect them from injury by insects.

The fifth day of the fifth month was the summer festival and the Dragon Boat Festival. It was one of the three big festivals of the year and was generally a holiday. Most families hung artemesia and willow twigs over the doorway and pasted gourd-shaped, red papers on the walls. The children wore a five-colored "long life string". Many boys and girls and some women wore artemesia leaves in their hair and hung "tiger" characters on their clothes. This was to protect them from mishap or danger throughout the season. Three-cornered rice puddings,

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girl, were placed before the tablet of the God of Heaven and Earth. After the adults had worshiped the god the child was brought and allowed to choose from the articles on the tray. His choice was supposed to indicate his future. If the book was chosen the child would be a scholar. If the tile was selected he would be a useless man. If his first choice was the hoe he would be a good farmer. The choice of the scissors foretold that a girl would be a good knitter and seamstress.

Birthday anniversaries ordinarily were given but little recognition, though special foods were often prepared. Eggs and cakes for the boy carried with them the hope that he would continue to grow up in good health; "long-life" noodles for the family dinner expressed the wish for long life. The birthday of the oldest son was generally given more attention than the anniversaries of the other children.

When a man was 60 years old and had lived through a full cycle of the Chinese calendar his family generally held a special celebration. Relatives and friends called to offer their congratulations and present gifts, usually congratulatory scrolls. In some families the visitors kotowed to the man they were congratulating. A special feast was prepared for the family and friends. Wealthy families sometimes engaged bands of musicians and actors to provide entertainment on a stage erected in one of the family courtyards. In some cases the celebration might last three or four days.

What celebrations were held after the 60th anniversary would depend on the family. Some might have one every year. Others would pay special attention only to the 70th and 80th anniversaries. Others might celebrate every five years. The celebrations varied so much from family to family and depended so much on the financial situation of the family that no detailed study of them was attempted.

Marriage

Marriages were regularly arranged by the parents, generally through a match-maker. In some cases a marriage might even be arranged by two families before the birth of their children. If the children were of different sex they were engaged, if of the same sex they became sworn brothers or sisters.

When a marriage had been tentatively arranged the horoscopes of the boy and girl, the eight characters giving the year, month, day, and hour of their birth, were written out and sent to the fortune-teller for

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582 787 his consideration. If he decided that the two horoscopes were compatible the marriage would be definitely arranged. If they were incompatible the proposal was dropped.

After the fortune-teller had approved, the bridegroom's horoscope was written on red paper and sent to the bride's family, through the match-maker. If, after examining the horoscope, the bride's family approved, they returned a "card of consent" by the match-maker. This constituted the engagement.

585 The wedding day was fixed by the groom's family, who sent a card to the bride's family giving the proposed date. If it was approved by her family they returned an "answer of consent". This was the "exchange of papers" between the families.

One or two days before the wedding the groom's family prepared a cart load of presents to be sent to the bride's family. The presents included twenty-four pieces of bread, a box of noodles, salt, rice, and one-half of a pig. The match-maker went with the cart. All the presents were kept by the bride's family except the pig, which they cut in two, keeping one piece. The other piece, along with the red boxes containing the bride's dowry, was returned to the groom's family by the match-maker.

The day before the wedding a woman whose parents, husband, and children were all living, and who was, therefore, a person especially blessed with good fortune, was chosen from the groom's family or from a neighbor's family to prepare the bridal chamber for the new couple. While she was sweeping the bed she said various charms such as "Sweeping here and there, we pray for the birth of a boy and for a girl running around on the bed". While she arranged the bed quilts she repeated wishes such as "pushing here and there, we pray for the birth of plenty of babies". Dates and chestnuts were usually tucked into the bed quilts as the words for date and chestnut together have the same sound as "to have sons early".

On the wedding day the groom bowed three times before the tablet of the God of Heaven and Earth before he set out for the bride's home. He and his company made quite a procession, the length, of course, depending upon the economic position of his family. The procession was headed by two men with firecrackers that were shot off to welcome the bride and by two men carrying lanterns. Then, walking closely together, came men carrying banners and men beating drums and gongs. Next came a cart with a group of musicians, then a cart with two attendants

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765 lieved that the spirit of the deceased would be required to use the bowl to drink the water it had wasted in this world. The hole in the bottom would allow much of the water to run away and so save the spirit a large part of its task.

The catafalque most generally used in Ting Hsien was hung from a long pole the front of which was a dragon's head and the end a phoenix's tail. The catafalque was carried by 16, 32, or 36 men. There was a coffin cart that was pulled by 30 men. In very fine funerals the coffin was carried on a platform placed on two large red lacquered poles and surmounted with a high framework hung with red curtains, similar to the big catafalque often used in Peking.

The musicians and priests preceded the coffin. The sons of the deceased walked immediately in front of the catafalque. The oldest son usually carried a special soul flag, carrying it in his left or right hand depending on the sex of the deceased. Other sons carried mourning sticks, wrapped in white. The women of the family rode in carts and followed the coffin.

Friends or relatives sometimes set a small table at the side of the road to show their respect for the person being buried and their sympathy for the family. On the table they put wine, pork, chicken, fruit, paper money, and incense. When the procession came to the table the catafalque would stop, the friends and relatives would kotow to the coffin and the sons would kneel and return the kotow. This was the "libation in the road".

Paper money, shaped like large cash, was often thrown into the air as the funeral procession went along the road. This was "money to buy the use of the road" and was to placate the wandering spirits and keep them from doing harm to the spirit of the deceased or his family. [767] These papers were quickly picked up by spectators as they were thought to be very beneficial for scabies.

765 The time between death and burial varied greatly, depending on the status of the family and the will of the geomancer. He was usually 787 called upon to locate a suitable grave, to set the day when the feng shui would be propitious, and to use his compass to see that the coffin was located in the grave so that it would be in line with the strongest influences and forces of the spirit world. If graveyard and graves were properly located it was believed that it would help the family become rich and prosperous. The seventh day after death was the usual time for

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burial among the better-off families. Poorer families, who had fewer arrangements to make and were less able to give time to mourning, usually waited only three days. Wealthy families often had special memorial services on the seventh day after death and might delay the actual burial beyond that time.

At the grave the coffin was lowered into the earth and then its axis was carefully located according to the geomancer's compass. A small jar containing food was generally placed at the head of the coffin to provide sustenance for the departed. The sons walked around the tomb three times after the coffin was in place and before the grave was filled. The paper houses, servants, and cloth were burned. The women of the family generally carried home with them some of the earth from the grave in order to bring riches to the family.

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After the burial the funeral party returned home along the same road by which they came and after leaving the grave they were not to look back until they had reached home.

On the third day after the burial the descendants of the deceased went to visit the tomb. They took paper money, fruit, and cakes with them and they wept before the grave.

The 21st and 35th days after death were generally two special memorial days for the departed. The family, men and women, burned mourning papers and incense and wept before the tomb. After those special days the deceased were remembered at Ch'ing Ming and on the first of the 10th moon, along with all the ancestors. Then the graves were repaired, food was offered, and incense was burned. Sometimes paper clothes, paper money, and other paper items were burned grave mounds to keep evil spirits away. On the 30th of the 12th moon the ancestral spirits were invited to spend the first five days of the New Year with their descendants.

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Funeral expenses varied with the financial condition of the family, but almost always were a heavy drain on the family finances. Coffins for adults cost anywhere from $7.00 to $300 or more. Grave clothes for a parent of a wealthy family cost from $80 to $150 and from $30 to $60 for a middle-class family. From $150 to $300 might be spent on food and music, while another $200 to $300 might be needed to cover the cost of mourning clothes, paper images, and priests. The average total funeral

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The clan property was usually land that had been given or left as a legacy to the clan by some of its prosperous members. The land was regularly rented. Any money included in the clan property was usually loaned at interest, ordinarily at 1.5 per cent per month. The clan property was looked after in turn by the different families. The details on some clan property, income, and expenses are given in Chapter II.

It was said that the geomancers who helped locate suitable graves must spend 10 years before they could properly recognize the footprints of the dragon and 20 years before they could master the art of locating peaceful graves. Also that, as the dragon is an animal that walks near the water, it is proper to locate graves near the water.

When a family graveyard had been filled the geomancer was called in to find a new burial plot with auspicious influences that would add to the family welfare. This might be one plot for the large family or, if there were several families whose ancestors were buried in the original graveyard, each family might establish a separate plot in the same way that a family was often divided after the death of the father, with the sons setting up separate households.

In order to maintain the continuity of the generations some families exhumed their parents' bones and buried them in the position of honor at the top of the new graveyard. Whether this was done or not depended on the will of the clan and the decision of the geomancer. Neither would allow anything that would break the auspicious influence of the old graveyard.

If the decision was against moving the parents' bones a small symbolic coffin was often buried in the new graveyard. Then the current head of the family and his wife would be buried at the top of the plot, his sons and their wives in the next row and his grandsons and their wives in the third row.

If the geomancer approved of moving the parents' bones from the old to the new graveyard, the grave was opened at night or a mat-shed was built over the grave to keep out the sunlight lest it harm the spirits of the dead. A small coffin would still be used to hold the bones that were moved from the old to the new graveyard.

Proverbs

Proverbs, customary sayings, and rhymes were very numerous in the Ting Hsien villages. A few samples, selected by our Chinese associates,

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Space is too limited to allow going into further details of the question of law and social order.[16] It suffices to say that villagers know very little about law and yet they seldom commit crime. The backbone of the social order of P'ing-chiao-tsun is customary sanction and not laws promulgated by governments. While the family is a very important unit in the process of ordering and control, public opinions in the form of gossips among villagers are too strong for any one to neglect.

Sacred Order

The maintenance of a social order in P'ing-chiao-tsun depends upon forces which extend beyond the secular into the sacred. There is no greater disturbance in normal life aside from military attacks than what is called by the social anthropologists the "life crises" such as birth, marriage and death. In addition to these life crises, the uncertainty of agricultural production due to "water and wind" should be also mentioned. Both life crises and agricultural crises may disturb any existing equilibrium in the social structure, and some means must be provided to have it re-established. When all secular means fail man, he has to appeal to the mystic powers in the unseen world. He has to rescue life from death; so he has to depend on religion.[17]

The birth of a child is called a happy event. But mortality is high. Parents are busy with other businesses of life and their knowledge of child care is limited. Anxiety over the security of an infant, under such circumstances, is very high indeed. Here, religion comes to the rescue. Many ceremonies of a magico-religious nature are performed in certain intervals such as three days, one hundred days and one year after birth to assure the child's life. When even these magico-religious performances fail, it is the fate of man and not the failure of gods.

Marriage is also a happy event, but the newcomer may be a trouble-maker, and the union may not be approved by gods and ancestral spirits. Performances of a magico-religious nature are made before, during and after wedding. As mentioned previously, the

16 A paper on law and social order in P'ing-chiao-tsun is in preparation.

17 Bronislaw Malinowski, "Magic Science and Religion", in Science Religion and Reality, edited by Joseph Needham, New York, 1925, pp. 19-84; A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, The Andaman Islanders, A Study in Social Anthropology, Cambridge University Press, 1922.

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geomancer is consulted before the arrangement of the union of a man with a woman is decided. Shortly before the bride steps into the bridal chair, certain magical acts should be performed to drive away the evil spirits. After the wedding, the bride is led to the ancestral tomb so as to inform the spirits that a new member has been added to the family.

Illness and death are human sorrows. When a person is ill, his wife or her children, in addition to procuring medicine, proceed to a temple to burn incense before the gods. Death is a calamity; particularly so is the death of the main supporter of the family. When a person is dead, his relatives from near and far come to share the sorrow of his family, together with his friends and non-clan members of the village.

The degree of elaboration of a death ceremony, as in marriage, varies in direct proportion with the financial condition of the family. There is, however, one thing common to the ceremonies of all families and that is their magico-religious nature. Performances have to be made to send the spirit away from the dead body. The spirit has to be guaranteed the ability to reach "heaven" through "hell". The family members have to be assured that they will not be disturbed by the spirit of the dead.

In the field of agriculture, water and wind and insect pests may destroy the plants and the crops. While some of these outside dangers can be put under the farmer's control, there are many that he feels he cannot deal with. He is not quite willing to leave everything to fate and luck until gods have failed him. His mule-carts and working-animals have to be protected from evil spirits. He or his wife or one of his children has to burn incense before the gods at regular intervals of the year or month to thank them for the protection to human labor, to animals, to carts and to crops.

P'ing-chiao-tsun has a temple, but no collective worship has been carried on during recent years. No monk resides in the village temple. In case a monk is needed, he can be called to serve from temples in the neighboring villages. Many gods in the village are no longer popular, but *niang-niang* 娘娘, the goddess, is still functioning. Women pray to her for sons and later for protection of these sons.

A family may worship the gods in the house of residence. Peculiarly enough, only a few families have ancestral tablets. Ancestral worship is not popular in P'ing-chiao-tsun. Of all the house-